PHILOSOPHICAL REFLECTIONS

ON THE LATE

8132. ee. 9.
1-15.

REVOLUTION IN FRANCE,

AND THE CONDUCT OF

THE DISSENTERS IN ENGLAND;

IN A LETTER TO

THE REV. DR. PRIESTLEY.

BY J. COURTENAY, ESQ. M.P.

QUO, QUO SCELESTI RUITIS?——HOR.

THE THIRD EDITION WITH ADDITIONS.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR T. BECKET, PALL-MALL.
MDCCXC.

ERRATA.

P. 69. l. laſt, for *martenique* r. *martemque.*
P. 88. l. 8. from the bottom for *gain* r. *gains.*
Ibid. for *charm* r. *charms.*
P. 94. l. 17. for *declared* (his deſign) *r. relinquiſhed.*

BRITISH MUSEUM

PHILOSOPHICAL REFLECTIONS

ON THE LATE

REVOLUTION IN FRANCE, &c.

ADDRESSED TO

THE REV. DR. PRIESTLEY.

SIR,

I AM not in the leaſt ſurpriſed that ſome of the moſt enlightened men of the preſent age, equally diſtinguiſhed by genius, ſcience, and taſte, are ſeriouſly alarmed at the dangerous and rapid progreſs of democracy in France. We had indeed little to fear, whilſt they enjoyed that ſerene and tranquil ſtate of government, uniformly reſulting from the unlimited power of a monarch, and the feu-

dal privileges of a numerous, poliſhed, and gallant *nobleſſe*. Whilſt the various orders of a pious, rich, and ſplendid hierarchy anxiouſly watched over the temporal and eternal concerns of a docile obſequious laity, preaching up the catholic apoſtolic doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance,—internal peace, ſubordination, and ſubmiſſion, were the characteriſtics of that gay, volatile, and ingenious people.—But now, *horreſco referens*, they no longer acknowledge "The right divine of kings to go-"vern wrong;" and inſtead of bending their necks to the vice-gerent of heaven, preſumptuouſly look into the ſacred ark, queſtion the conduct of the Lord's anointed, and on abſtract metaphyſical principles (unhappily reduced into practice) aſſert the unalienable right of man to freedom:—The fatal conſequences are obvious; as it is a political truth, confirmed by the experience of ages, that the tranquillity and happineſs

of

of a well regulated community can only be maintained by implicit obedience and unconditional ſubmiſſion. The viſions of chimerical ſpeculation muſt diſappear before the light of hiſtory, and truth and reaſon again reſume their empire over the human mind. I ſay then, if the Athenians had quietly and judiciouſly ſubmitted to the dominion of the thirty tyrants, Critias, and his council of *ariſtocrates* would not have been compelled to ſtain their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens. Socrates might have ſaved himſelf and his country, if he had exerted his abilities, like Doctor H. by ſupporting the civil and eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment of Athens, inſtead of proudly and obſtinately diſplaying that factious and heterodox ſpirit which has always diſtinguiſhed you. If Brutus, and his band of Roman conſpirators, had ſaluted Julius Cæſar, king, deſpotiſm and felicity would have been diffuſed over the world,

and an Engliſh prelate *(a)* would not have diſgraced himſelf, and his holy function, by pronouncing an eulogium on aſſaſſination, and recommending the dangerous and daring tenets of a heatheniſh ballad to our ingenuous youth, in the inſidious and captivating language of claſſical eloquence.—But let me, in the words of Lord Bacon, bring this topic home to men's buſineſs and boſoms. If Mr. Hampden had meekly acquieſced in Charles's claim to ſhip-money, the nation would have been preſerved from the horrors of a civil war; "taxation, "no tyranny," would have become our political creed;—America might ſtill have flouriſhed under our auſpices;—the uncontaminated loyalty of toryiſm would have been our own;—we ſhould not have incurred the wrath of Heaven for ſhedding the royal martyr's blood; we ſhould not have been puniſhed for that flagitious act by the Revolution!—nor have had a Prince

of

of the Houſe of Brunſwick *to ſuffer for our ſins:*—We might ſtill have enjoyed a Popiſh liturgy *(b)*, a Calviniſtical creed *(c)*, and an Arminian clergy *(d)*, with all the ſuper-added bleſſings of an arbitrary monarchy.

The populous and flouriſhing kingdom of Dahomey on the gold coaſt of Africa, is another ſtriking example of the invaluable benefits of abſolute power. The king is there a king indeed, being the abſolute maſter of the lives and fortunes of his ſubjects! *(e)* "They are," we are told, "a happy people, "and have a great contempt for the ſubjects "of the neighbouring republics." A ſimilar ſentiment is thus beautifully expreſſed by a Tory poet:—

"Still to ourſelves in every place conſign'd,
"Our own felicity we make or find;—
"The lifted ax, the agonizing wheel,
"Luke's iron crown, and Damien's bed of ſteel,
"To men remote from power, but rarely known,
"Leave reaſon, faith, and conſcience all our own."

THE TRAVELLER.

I flatter

I flatter myſelf, that I have already proved to your ſatisfaction, by examples taken both from ancient and modern hiſtory, and from recent facts—elucidated by moral reaſoning, that the vicious and oppreſſive conduct of our rulers can only be effectually checked and counteracted by patience, humility, and long ſuffering; and that all our political evils ſolely originate from tumult, inſurrection, and rebellion. Let us learn a leſſon of wiſdom from the untutored ſavages of Dahomey;—they preſerve their lives and property from royal rapacity and violence, by a cheerful reſignation of both to the nod of their ſovereign. A grave divine earneſtly recommends the ſame ſyſtem of quietiſm to the fair ſex, as an effectual preſervative againſt any poſſible violation of their chaſtity *(f)*.

I ſhall now proceed in demonſtrating, that the Chriſtian religion is to all intents and purpoſes aboliſhed in France; and that the

the National Aſſembly have covertly and inſidiouſly introduced a ſyſtem of atheiſm in its ſtead. The ſenate of *democrates* have commenced their impious ſcheme by aboliſhing tythes; a proviſion appropriated and ſanctified, *jure divino*, for the comfortable ſupport of the clergy, by Heathens, Jews, and Chriſtians *(g)*. They have ſacrilegiouſly preſumed to ſeize on the ancient revenue of the church, under the impious pretext of public good; of encouraging agriculture, by eaſing the peaſants of an unequal and oppreſſive eccleſiaſtical *corvée*; and of providing a better and more ſuitable maintenance for the ſecular and parochial prieſts, who *alone* perform the reſpective duties of their function. Thus have the National Aſſembly reduced atheiſm into a ſyſtem, by ſeizing on the lands of the clergy, with an avowed deſign of either pledging them as a ſecurity for the national debt, or ſelling them to Turks, Jews, and Infidels,

for

for the diſcharge of it. Beſides, if biſhops, archbiſhops, *abbés*, and the ſuperior and dignified ranks of the hierarchy, are deprived of riches, immunities, power, and grandeur, how can they ſhew their contempt of them? You invidiouſly ſnatch from theſe *Senecas*, theſe Chriſtian ſtoics, the ſublime merit of optional virtue, by compelling them to practice temperance and moderation, not from choice, but neceſſity.

A ſimilar ſacrilegious attempt to aboliſh tythes in Ireland, is a melancholy proof of the turbulent and innovating ſpirit of the preſent times. The depreſſed ſtate of the clergy too evidently appears by the ſtyle of their writings. Their arguments are ſingly founded on the impolicy and injuſtice of depriving them of a proviſion ſanctioned by antiquity, and ſolemnly entailed on them by the laws of the land. They have given up the vantage ground on which they ſtood, ſtript themſelves, of the celeſtial armour,

the panoply divine, with which they were clad, and have raſhly ventured into the field naked and unarmed.

They have ſucceeded accordingly.—If the clergy once weakly admit the profane interference of parliament; if they once admit, that this proviſion may be modified, and even aboliſhed by the ſame authority;—if the conteſt is merely to reſt on the fallacious deductions of human reaſon, it would indeed be difficult for the church to maintain the argument. Even the ſpecious ſtatement of the celebrated author of *The Wealth of Nations (b)* has little weight with me; for granting that tythes are often a fifth, and even a fourth, inſtead of a tenth; though they are a check to induſtry, &c. ſtill the more unequal and more oppreſſive this ſacred burthen may be, the more meritorious it is in thoſe who ſubmit to it from a conſcientious motive, without murmuring and repining. A leading member of the Iriſh

Houſe of Commons * has expatiated in his uſual ſtyle of energetick, but deluſive eloquence, on the great advantage which the church would derive from an Act of Commutation.—Law-ſuits, bickerings, and animoſities, he aſſerted, would ceaſe at once; and the mild ſpirit of peace and Chriſtian charity, would mutually endear the paſtor and his flock to each other. The clergy, no doubt, are perfectly ſenſible of this; and only perſiſt in claiming tythes, as being their excluſive property by divine inſtitution; and thinking that by accepting any commutation, however beneficial, they would betray the cauſe of God and religion.

And now, Sir, permit me to addreſs you, in the moſt ſerious manner, on the moſt ſerious ſubject. What can democratick frenzy alledge againſt epiſcopacy? Were not biſhops inſtituted by the apoſtles themſelves, to enlighten and govern the

* Mr. Grattan.

primitive

primitive church? Though they ſoon diſplayed an exterior pomp and ſplendour in their veſtments, and in the celebration of divine worſhip; though they aſſumed imperial grandeur, inhabited palaces, aſcended their thrones; though they cenſured, controlled, and excommunicated emperors; yet they only ſubmitted to this pageantry, and reluctantly exerciſed this temporal power, merely to impreſs the congregation of the faithful with a holy awe and veneration for the MAJESTY of the church; well knowing that ſound morality and the ſocial duties could reſt ſecurely on no other baſis. Dr. Moſheim's miſrepreſentation on this very intereſting point, is deſervedly treated with contempt *(i)*.—That bold and inſidious writer, under the ſpecious pretext of candour and moderation, inſpires his readers with an averſion to all eccleſiaſtical power, and with indignation againſt the clergy, for having invariably fomented religious con-

troverſy on myſterious unintelligible tenets; for encouraging perſecution, and promoting the miſery of mankind in this world, by infuſing into their minds a ſpirit of hatred, malice, and uncharitableneſs; which at laſt became the theological characteriſtick of every various diſcordant ſect of Chriſtianity. But if this eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian had been candid, (even allowing the fact,) he ſhould have fairly acknowledged that the unrelenting virulence and embittered rancour of perſecution are the moſt infallible criterions of true belief, and the beſt proof of a fervent and ſincere zeal for religion. As each ſect ſtigmatized its antagoniſt by the odious denomination of heretick,—Arians and Athanaſians, mutually actuated by the pureſt motives of brotherly love and affection, inflicted a momentary and tranſient puniſhment on the bodies of each other, either by the ſword or the ſtake; leſt by continuing

nuing too long in their reſpective ſchiſmatick opinions, they might forfeit all hope of ſalvation.

Thus the ſame actions, erroneouſly conſidered on mere abſtract notions of philanthropy, may well appear unjuſt, cruel, and barbarous; but their very eſſence is changed when viewed through this juſt theological medium; for the genuine and beneficent ſpirit of orthodoxy conſecrates the apparent inhumanity of the action, by ſanctifying the motive.

A century ago, an attempt to violate the ſhred of a prieſt's garment would have been deemed the higheſt impiety;—but that happy period is long paſt. A new ſect of philoſophers has brought all the preſent calamities on France, by inſidiouſly varying and adapting their writings to the taſte, and comprehenſion, of all ranks of ſociety. They have perverted their underſtandings, and corrupted their morals, by fatally perſuading

ſuading them that juſtice and benevolence were the eſſential duties of man, and that without bewildering themſelves in the teazing perplexities and inextricable myſteries of theology, they ſhould " look through nature up to nature's God *(k)*." They have rent the ſacred veil aſunder, and falſely and preſumptuouſly *taught*, that all power originates from the people;—that kings are only the firſt magiſtrates of the ſtate, and indebted to the loweſt peaſants for the ſplendour, magnificence, and majeſty that ſurround them; and that the greateſt and meaneſt ſubject ſhould be equally bound, and equally protected by the laws. Under the ſpecious pretext of checking and expoſing ſuperſtition and bigotry, they have profanely maintained, that the ordination of the prieſt does not alter the nature of the man; and that the ſole utility of his function conſiſts in inſtructing the people in the moral and ſocial duties of life. They have calumniated the

ambaſſadors

ambaſſadors of Heaven, by charging them with having monopoliſed a third of the landed revenue of the kingdom, by artfully working on the conſciences of the weak and credulous, and extorting from them on the bed of ſickneſs, and even at the hour of death, a ſhare of their property, as a propitiation for their ſins. Their avowed principles, ſay theſe apoſtles of impiety, their uniform practice, the very ſpirit of their profeſſion, mark them as implacable enemies to ſcience, philoſophy, and intellectual liberty. A conſtellation of genius ſeemed united in propagating theſe dangerous atheiſtical tenets. They were diffuſed in every ſpecies of writing, and the dulcet poiſon was greedily imbibed in every part of Europe. The moſt poignant ridicule, the fineſt ſallies of wit, the moſt brilliant traits of imagination, threw a falſe luſtre over this deceptious ſyſtem. The pernicious dogmas of their ſchool, captivated the

attention, and were conveyed to the heart in the enchanting page of a novel, amidſt the feigned adventures and paſſionate endearments of lovers. An article of faith was expoſed in an epigram; ſcepticiſm allured proſelytes by a *bon mot*; and creeds were confuted in a ſong. The luminous ſcrutiniſing genius of Monteſquieu; the ſplendid levity of Voltaire; the impaſſioned and faſcinating eloquence of Rouſſeau; the preciſion and depth of d'Alembert; the bold and acute inveſtigations of Boulanger; the daring paradoxical ſpirit of Helvetius; the majeſtick ſublimity of the ſyſtematick Buffon; the profound aſtronomical reſearches of Bailly; the captivating elegance of Marmontel; the impreſſive condenſed thoughts of Diderot;—all theſe with combined force aſſailed and unſettled the conſecrated opinions of ages. The venerable Gothick ſtructure was ſhaken from its very foundation; the ſacred edifice is now laid low, and the madneſs

madneſs of democracy has vainly dedicated a temple to liberty on its ruins.

And are we not at this inſtant menaced with ſimilar calamities, by a dangerous combination of fanatical literati? Have not our prophetical Elijahs obſerved a cloud in the eaſt, pregnant with inflammatory particles, and juſt ready to burſt on this devoted land?—But to drop the metaphor. Has not a *catechiſm (l)* gone forth, teaching us, that churches are houſes built of wood and ſtone, which do not change their nature, though rendered holy by thoſe ſanctimonious ceremonies which the hierarchy have ordained? Are we not told, that neither *(m)* epiſcopacy nor tythes are of apoſtolick inſtitution; that biſhops are not choſen by the *people*, but appointed by the mockery of a royal *congé d'elire?*—Are we not alſo told, that the primitive church conſiſted ſolely of the people, their leaders, and the *miniſters* or *deacons?* Can

you, Sir, then, have the effrontery to deny that the exalted character of the lords ſpiritual is depreciated, and their ſacred authority contemptuouſly treated, in this abominable catechiſm; Is it not recommended by a plotting and dangerous ſynod, conſiſting of four or five hundred turbulent heretical non-conformiſts, who proudly denominate themſelves the Eaſtern Aſſociation? Their enthuſiaſtick zeal makes them truly formidable; their fame has gone forth into all lands. Their miſſionaries have excited tumults and inſurrections at Tibet and Conſtantinople; for they deteſt every mode of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and equally hate the *Mufti*, the grand *Lama*, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Have not theſe catechumenical lectures been tranſlated into all languages? Has not the preſent emperor of China iſſued an edict to have them ſeized and burnt, with every mark of ignominy, as containing

containing ſeditious and irreligious doctrines, highly injurious to the rational and moral precepts of Confucius? The great inquiſitorial council of Japan have proceeded with their uſual vindictive impetuoſity, and have actually impaled ſix of thoſe miſchievous zealots, who were diſpatched by the Eaſtern Aſſociation, at an enormous expence, to diſperſe this alarming tract through every nation and country under Heaven! Nay, ſo inveterate is the malignancy of this ſynod, that they have lately made up this catechiſm into a ſpecifick, which, agreeable to their accuſtomed cant, they call *ſpiritual regenerating* pills. Theſe are preſcribed to be taken by nurſes, and women during a ſtate of pregnancy; that children at the breaſt may ſuck in theſe curſed doctrines with their milk, the embrio ideas of infants be contaminated before they are born, and a new ſtimulative be added to original ſin.

By this diabolical invention, faction, rebellion, and anarchy, may be diſſeminated over the globe, and the flouriſhing empires of China and Japan be overturned by a future generation * of Arians, Socinians, Pelageans, Neceſſarians, Antinomians, and Materialiſts!

" *The babe, ere yet he draws his vital breath,*
" Receives the lurking principle of death;
" The young diſeaſe, that muſt ſubdue at length,
" Grows with his growth, and ſtrengthens with his ſtrength."

If ſome vigorous and coercive meaſures are not adopted to check theſe audacious proceedings, I would not give *the* NIP *of a ſtraw* for our conſtitution, in church and ſtate.

From the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, celibacy *(n)* in both ſexes has been eſteemed the ſublimity of virtue: its merit is derived

* See Review of the Caſe of the Diſſenters, p. 22.

from

from the difficulty we feel, in this frail ſtate of mortality, in reſiſting the inſtinctive impulſe of animal ſenſation. Hence, the monaſtick life became early the divine teſt of corporeal purity, celeſtial fervour, and ſpiritual devotion. But theſe new reformers have raſhly abſolved both monks and nuns from the ſolemn vows by which they had devoted themſelves to heaven, and impiouſly encouraged them to abandon their peaceful and ſanctimonious retreats, and expoſe themſelves to the "pomps and "vanities of this wicked world, and the "ſinful luſts of the fleſh." However, it were well indeed if the miſchief ended here;—but, alas! this fatal ſtep will eventually prove the ruin of England, as it is calculated on the moſt moderate computation, that the fleets and armies of France may ſoon be manned and recruited from this new ſource of population. Their manufactures and agriculture will no longer be diſtreſſed

treſſed by a war, as it may be carried on with vigour and facility without calling a ſingle man from the plough or loom. Our moſt experienced ſtateſmen, our wiſeſt patriots, our moſt enlightened ſenators, are convinced of this melancholy truth: The French Revolution is therefore generally execrated; and has only received the contemptible plaudits of an obſcure ſociety, compoſed of atheiſtical Diſſenters, republican Deiſts, and levelling Freethinkers, who impatiently long for the deſtruction of our civil and eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment.

The celebrated Mr. Necker has ſagaciouſly obſerved, that it daily became more requiſite than ever, to inculcate the genuine dictates of religion on the minds of the people, as the only effectual conſolation to ſupport them under the weight of oppreſſive, unequal, and impoveriſhing taxation *(o)*. But the neceſſity of enforcing this pious doctrine is unhappily done away,

as

as a redreſs of grievances and a reſtoration of rights have already taken place; and it is a melancholy truth, that reverſionary felicity makes but a ſlight impreſſion on thoſe who have a proſpect of enjoying the comforts of this life. The celeſtial ſpecifick ſo earneſtly recommended by Mr. Necker derives its vital efficacy from the exertions of arbitrary power, which compels us to purchaſe eternal joy by a few years miſery in this tranſitory ſtate of probation. The prieſthood, influenced by this ſacred motive, have ever been the zealous advocates of deſpotiſm, except when their own privileges and immunities are endangered; as in ſuch a predicament, they are precluded from exerciſing their own judgement, and only act as truſtees and delegates for the rights of heaven.

The late emperor, Joſeph the *Great*, who aſtoniſhed the world by the ſublimity of his genius and the grandeur of his actions,

not adverting to this political axiom, ſeems to have committed a fatal error, in not conciliating the affections, and ſecuring the attachment of the church (and perhaps the law) before he commenced his comprehenſive and beneficent ſyſtem of government in the Auſtrian Netherlands.

Lord Stanhope has thought proper to paſs an eulogy on the National Aſſembly, for making no diſtinction between Catholicks and Proteſtants, but impartially admitting both to all offices of truſt and profit; and invidiouſly contraſts our conduct with their's in reſpect to the Diſſenters. But if their true motive be conſidered, they will be found by no means entitled to panegyrick. By this affected moderation, this ſpecious candour, this comprehenſive indulgence, they evidently exhibit a contemptuous indifference for the Catholick eſtabliſhed church, and the ſolemn deciſions of councils and theologiſts. This is a dangerous unequivocal

unequivocal ſymptom of their malady—a prognoſtick and a diagnoſtick of Atheiſm.

On the ſame conſiſtency of principle, M. Mirabeau moved this ſenate of *democrates* to addreſs the king to appoint an envoy for the ſpecial purpoſe of jointly conſulting with our adminiſtration on the moſt effectual means of aboliſhing the ſlave trade. Did this ſpring from the generous ſuggeſtions of humanity? Certainly not.—Treachery marks their proceedings; and the ruin of revealed religion is the invariable aim of all their actions. For has it not been inconteſtably proved, by writers* equally diſtinguiſhed by genius, learning, and profound reſearches into antiquity, that the eldeſt born of Ham, who was accurſed by his father, was called Cuſh, " which, in the Hebrew language, ſignifies black. Ethiopia, under which name Africa is included, is called in Scripture the Land of Cuſh, and the inhabitants, Cuſhims, or Cuſhites.—The ne-

* Mr. Bryant, &c.

groes therefore are deſcended from Ham, by his eldeſt ſon, Cuſh; which accounts for the degraded ſituation theſe people have ever continued in."—This reaſoning is concluſive.—The Cuſhites were certainly devoted to perpetual ſlavery, for the wickedneſs of their great progenitor, Ham. Cuſh himſelf was probably born black, both as a prophetick deſignation of his future fate, and to tranſmit this degenerate colour to his poſterity.

The only ſpecious objection to this very rational hypotheſis, is obviated by the author of *Obſervations*, &c. in anſwer to Mr. Clarkſon's reprobated Eſſay. "It may be objected," ſays he, "that Cuſh was born prior to the time of Ham's committing the offence againſt his father, for which he ſentenced him and his poſterity to ſo ſevere a puniſhment; and therefore the complexion of Cuſh could not have any relation to the crime to be committed afterwards by his father. In anſwer to this, I obſerve, there

is

is no impropriety, nor improbability, in ſuppoſing that the blackneſs of Cuſh was the mark ſet upon him and his poſterity, from the foreknowledge of the Deity, of the crime, and conſequent puniſhment, which Ham would commit, and be ſentenced to; and as a ſeal of that perpetual ſervitude to which his deſcendants were to be doomed by that ſentence*."

Be this as it may, it is inconteſtibly proved by the celebrated author of *Ancient Mythology*, and univerſally admitted, that the Europeans are the ſons of Japheth: it is therefore our indiſpenſable duty to accompliſh the divine predictions of Noah, and to hold Ham's deſcendants in chains for ever. But it is the avowed intention of the National Aſſembly to weaken the credibility of the ſacred hiſtory, by emancipating the negroes. However, I truſt we ſhall not be made the dupes of this profane policy:

* Page 32

on the contrary, I ſincerely wiſh, that the corporations of Briſtol and Liverpool would ſend out the reverend author of the *Scriptural Reſearches** to the Weſt-Indies, with a cargo of bibles; which may be conveniently ſtowed in the ſlave-ſhip, as they are not now ſo much crowded as formerly. Let him teach the unfortunate Africans to read and ſtudy the book of Geneſis;—let *their* genealogy be condenſed into a ſhort catechiſm, ſuited to their untutored capacities, and taught them every Sunday by one of the negro-divers.—It is impoſſible to ſay what a ſudden and ſalutary effect it may have on their unenlightened minds, to *know* that their ſufferings are ſolely owing to the wickedneſs of their anceſtor, Ham.

It will conciliate their affections, and endear the ſons of Japheth to their hearts, if they are once perſuaded that we hold them in bondage, and inflict ſtripes on them, neither to obtain any baſe and ſordid

* Rev. Mr. Herries.

ſordid profit from their burning toils, nor to gratify the ſudden impulſe of vindictive paſſion, but merely in obedience to the decrees of Heaven, to accompliſh the word of prophecy, as faithful executors to the laſt will and teſtament of Noah, our common progenitors, the ſecond father of mankind. *(p)*

Monſ. Volney *, indeed, would fain perſuade us, on the authority of Herodotus, that the Ægyptians, celebrated both in profane and ſacred hiſtory, were blacks; and thence artfully inſinuates, that we do not abſolutely derive our intellectual ſuperiority over them from the whiteneſs of our ſkins. But, even on this hypotheſis, though the Ægyptians might have been of a dark colour, yet they were not of ſo deep a die as the deſcendants of Cuſh, nor was

* Nam Colchi videntur Ægyptii eſſe—Ipſe autem ex hoc conjectabam, quod *atro colore* ſunt et *criſpo capillo*, (μελανχροες και ουλοτριχες.)

HEROD. l. 2, p. 211,—Glaſ. ed.

their hair ſo ſoft and woolly; which makes an eſſential difference between them *(q)*. Beſides, it has been conjectured by the Abbé Spalanzani, and demonſtrated by a late diſſection at Jamaica, that the cellular membrane, on which the colour of the epidermis or outer cuticle depends, is wondrouſly extended over the brain of the negroes, and completely wraps up the *cerebrum* and *cerebellum* in its curious net-work. Conſequently, the impreſſion made by external objects on the *ſenſorium* is rendered leſs diſtinct by paſſing through this reticular *envelope*, the nervous ſenſibility thereby blunted, and the rational faculties weakened. By this aſtoniſhing contexture of the reaſoning organ, the poſterity of Ham, and the ſons of Japheth, are ſpecifically diſtinguiſhed from each other: the former cannot feel ſo exquiſitely as the latter, either intellectually or ſenſitively; and yet, by this admirable contrivance, they are graciouſly

fitted

fitted for that ſtate of degradation and ſlavery to which they are perpetually devoted.

It will give me great pleaſure if this ſingular diſcovery ſhould afford the leaſt ſatisfaction to thoſe whoſe generous but miſapplied ſympathy has carried them beyond all bounds of prudence and diſcretion on the ſubject of the ſlave-trade. They may now reſt aſſured that the negroes do not ſuffer more than they can bear.—The dullneſs of their underſtandings, and the bluntneſs of their ſenſations, (originating from the ſame cauſe,) alleviate their tranſient miſeries, and proportionably ſhield and protect them from that pungency of mental and corporeal pain they would otherwiſe feel from incidental acts of ſeverity, to which a ſtate of ſlavery muſt ſometimes expoſe them. This anatomical deſcription of the prolongation and extenſion of the ſubcutaneous membrane over the brain, ſhould be explained to the blacks, in familiar untechnical

technical language by the ſurgeon of the plantation, who charitably viſits and attends them after every puniſhment; as they are always humanely indulged with ſome hours reſt and relaxation, to repair their exhauſted ſtrength and ſpirits. When they have once attained a clear ſcientifick conception of this phenomenon from the ſurgeon, the clergyman ſhould then explain the *final cauſe* of it to his catachumens, that they may derive religious conſolation from this marked providential inferiority of their ſpecies, and look up to their maſters, miſtreſſes, and their kind guardians, the negro-drivers, with more awe and reverence.

The National Aſſembly, poſſeſſed by the ſame miſchievous dæmon of democracy, have actually proceeded to aboliſh titles and reduce penſions.

I hope a few impartial reflections on this very intereſting point, may in ſome meaſure obviate the pernicious tendency of ſuch levelling republican notions.—As the French *nobleſſe* always ſacrificed to the graces, they derived

derived their captivating politeneſs, and inimitable addreſs, from the aſſiduity of this pleaſing devotion. They gave a decided *ton* to ſociety in exact proportion to the diſtinctions of rank and birth. A ſimple *gentilhomme* edged in, as he could, through the half-opened door of a lady's aſſembly-room; but whenever an archbiſhop, a prince of the blood, or an ambaſſador, was announced, "*ouvrez les deux battants pour monſeign'. l'archeveque*," &c. was the faſhionable language. A nice and faſtidious obſerver, who had been uſed to good company, could inſtantly diſcover *duc et pair*, a ſimple duke, a marquis, a viſcount, or count, by the condeſcending hauteur, the dignified familiarity, or graceful negligence of returning a bow, or preſenting a ſnuff-box to an inferior, with as much preciſion as if he had examined their reſpective patents. But all theſe enchanting accompliſhments will be ſoon neglected. The eye of taſte will ſpeedily loſe this exquiſite diſcrimination, which

was never before attained in ancient or modern times. *L'amour, la chaſſe, le ſervice, l'agrément de la ſocieté, les mots heureux, les petits ſoins,* will give place to the *triſteſſe* of party and the *ennui* of politicks, to the tumults of faction and the conflicts of ambition. The gay and ſeducing attendance of the toilet will be deſerted for the ſenate; and a tedious debate on the conſtitution will arreſt the attention more than a new dance at the opera, or a ballet at Verſailles. A poetical *ariſtocrate* who feels for the *decadence* of his country, laments this fatal change of manners in the following pathetick and affecting lines:

" Autrefois, dans la France,
" La preſence d'un duc faiſoit taire un marquis:
" Devant l'homme à la cour admis
" Un gentilhomme de province
" N'auroit osè reſter aſſis.
" Un bourgeois reſpectoit le noble le plus mince;
" Les plus grands impoſoient toujours aux plus petits;
" Et c'etoit un ordre admirable:
" Mais l' aujourdhui dans ce Paris
" C' eſt un deſpotiſme effroyable;
" *Tout le monde y dit ſon avis* *."

* *Reveil d'Epeminide.*

How

How different is our ſituation at this moment! how triumphant the contraſt! By the auſpicious exerciſe of the prerogative, the Britiſh and Iriſh peerage have been liberally increaſed during the preſent reign.—As birth, fortune, and deſert are not faſtidiouſly deemed indiſpenſible qualifications, the gratitude of the new peer to the crown is inſured, as he can only aſcribe his promotion to the gracious favour of his ſovereign, and the benign influence of the miniſter. Thus the pride and arrogance of aſſuming merit are effectually checked; and a courtly complaiſant race of nobles gradually formed; all actuated by the true ſpirit of ariſtocracy, and implicitly devoted to the crown; always ready to ſupport its prerogatives, and maintain the ſplendid privileges of their own order, againſt vulgar prejudice, and popular encroachments.

For though the lords derive their honour from the crown, the fountain of all honour;

ſtill as they are only truſtees, they ſhould be ever ready to reſign it with alacrity on any great political criſis. By a ſpirited exertion, founded on this generous ſentiment, a few noble peers, (if report is to be credited) gallantly deſpiſing reproach and obloquy, and diſdaining to be bound by too rigid and ſcrupulous an adherence to their word, ſaved the king, the church, and the nation, by voting againſt the Eaſt India bill in 1783.

On the ſame maxim, a deſertion of friends, party, and principle, may ſometimes be conſidered as a political teſt, and as a juſt, fair, and conſtitutional claim to a penſion and peerage; being a ſort of feudal homage, and the moſt unequivocal proof of profound duty, loyalty, and attachment. Surely even the malignity of faction muſt admit, that the elevation of ſoul which indignant virtue inſpires, could alone induce any perſon to act what is commonly, but very erroneouſly, deemed a diſhonourable part

in politicks.—Would the moſt unprincipled adminiſtration abandon ſuch an intrepid convert, to be vilified, traduced, and expoſed to the bitter taunts, and contemptuous ſneers of a calumniating oppoſition? No: let a man of ſuch heroick merit never be conſigned to diſgrace; let him be enobled by a title, and enriched by a penſion, in order to excite a generous emulation in others, and as the only adequate reward and conſolation he himſelf can reliſh.

I have alſo, Sir, often reflected with ſingular ſatisfaction on the pleaſing mode in which civil ſuits were carried on in France; where even the deciſions of juſtice were biaſſed by the gentle influence of manners and cuſtoms, and blended with their ſocial ſyſtem of policy. The *Preſident* was uſually ſolicited in perſon, by his noble or fair clients; and their ſtate of the caſe was liſtened to with the moſt polite reſpect and attention. As gallantry and law were happily

pily united, ladies with great condeſcenſion viſited the judge at his own chamber.—When beauty pleaded her cauſe irreſiſtibly in private, what a faint impreſſion could even the eloquence of an Erſkine make in open court? Sometimes an amorous propoſition, expreſſed with the utmoſt delicacy, dropped from the judge, and if favourably received, *le proces etoit gagné.* A French critick has produced a ſpecimen of elegant wit, addreſſed by a judicial magiſtrate to a charming ſuitor, on this nice point, equally honourable to himſelf and the juriſprudence of his country: The *equivoque* of a legal term is happily preſerved; for as the author was a lawyer, he remembered the profeſſion in his poetical rapture, and reſted his claim to *reciprocity* on a *double entendre:*

" Vous avez chez moi libre *acces,*
" J'en demande chez vous un *autre.*
" Si je ne gagne mon proces,
" Vous ne gagnerez pas le votre:" &c.

But

But the barbarous ſpirit of democracy has interrupted this tender intercourſe! this ſentimental mode of conducting law-ſuits! The ſale of judicial offices will no longer be permitted. A previous ſtudy and long practice in the courts will be eſteemed indiſpenſible qualifications for the bench; and conſequently young men will be excluded, on whoſe generous feelings the tears and ſollicitations of the fair never fail to excite the warmeſt emotions.—Inexorable *bourgeois* juries will be eſtabliſhed, who may preſume to judge both of the law and fact; no deference will be paid to birth, rank, or riches; and an accompliſhed courtier, perhaps a favourite of his ſovereign, will be treated like one of the *canaille*. But the evil will not ſtop here: not only the ſoft intercourſe which has been juſt deſcribed, will no longer be tolerated, but all the delicacies of *politeſſe* will be aboliſhed, and ancient ruſticity revived.

" The

" The ideas which the Greeks formed of politeneſs, muſt have been very different from ours," ſays Mr. Hume, in quoting this paſſage from Menander: " It is not in the power of the Gods to make a polite ſoldier." The reaſon is obvious.—The turbulent ſpirit of licentious equality diffuſed among the Grecian republicks, inſpired a contempt for thoſe finer ſocial arts, the original invention of which even Mr. Dutens admits to be modern. They diſdained to acquire that reſpectful addreſs, that delicate adulation, and honourable ſubſerviency to the pleaſure and inclination of others, in which the very eſſence of true politeneſs conſiſts. Such a ſenſitive plant ſhrinks from the rough hand of democracy, and can be only cultivated to its utmoſt perfection under the genial influence and cheering beams of court ſunſhine. The author of *Eſprit des Loix*, who ſaw this finely exemplified in his own country, remarks, with

with patriotick exultation, "that politeneſs and arbitrary power made an equal progreſs among the Romans." The converſe of this propoſition is likewiſe true. The French will ſoon loſe that boaſted ſuperiority which has ſo long excited the envy and emulation of Europe. Even the Dutch, under the auſpicious protection of the Pruſſian monarch, will ſpeedily be *drilled* into more refinement, and excel them in every graceful and elegant accompliſhment. As amiableneſs of character is attained by the agreeable art of concealing the boiſterous ſallies of paſſion, and reſtraining the diſguſting bluntneſs of ſincerity, politeneſs and diſſimulation are indiſſolubly connected, and always flouriſh under the protection of royalty. This exterior varniſh pleaſes the eye, though it diſguiſes the heart;—as painting glaſs, beautifies it, but renders it leſs tranſparent.

Thus the ſplendour of ariſtocracy was

diffuſed to the wideſt extent in France, was protracted through every gradation of ſociety, and threw a brilliancy over their domeſtick manners. The ſovereign diſpoſed of the whole national revenue, and diſpoſed of it with the moſt judicious liberality.—Thoſe who were incapable of aſſiſting themſelves,—thoſe who could no longer afford the indulgence of faſhionable expence,—thoſe who diſdained to tarniſh the luſtre of their birth by the ſordid acquiſition of commercial gain,—ſtill enjoyed every luxury of life, by the condeſcending kindneſs of royal beneficence. A million and a half (almoſt the twelfth of the whole product of national taxation) was graciouſly beſtowed, with unbounded generoſity, on a ſuperb and gallant race of nobles. As this mine of regal munificence was exhauſtleſs, Paris and Verſailles were crowded by men of ſhining accompliſhments, who, with paſſionate anxiety, longed to recommend

mend themſelves at court. But it was neither by the arrogance of ſelf-aſſumed merit, nor the revolting pride of parts, that their hopes were to be realized, and their wiſhes gratified. Where the faſcinating influence, diſcriminating taſte, and deciſive power of the fair ſex prevailed, their favourites roſe to fame and fortune, by the acquiſition of thoſe artificial embelliſhments, and by that exquiſite poliſh, which the *tact fin* of Verſailles could alone appretiate. No envoy was appointed to a foreign court who could not trace the complicated figure of a minuet with graceful preciſion. The dignified credentials of an ambaſſador were often granted for the compoſition of a *chanſon amoureuſe*; and *de pincer la harpe avec gout*, or to poſſeſs the happy art *de bien tourner ſon compliment*, has frequently raiſed an officer to the command of an army, or a clerk in office to preſide over the marine of France. War or peace

depended on the charming caprice, on the ſmile or frown of this enchanting gynocracy; and the *beaux yeux* of the reigning Sultana often ſet the world in a blaze.

The ſaucy indiſcretion of ill-bred authors was likewiſe inſtantly corrected, and an inſtructive hint conveyed to them in the polite ſtyle of a *lettre de cachet*.—Diderot was treated with this flattering mark of attention by Madame de Pompadour, and ſent to apartments provided for him by the king at *Vincennes*, for preſuming to criticiſe the compoſition and execution of a favourite court fiddler, without being himſelf a connoiſſeur in muſick. Rouſſeau, with his accuſtomed miſanthropy, preſented a *memoire*, ſoliciting the enlargement of his friend, or requeſting to ſhare his priſon*. Both theſe favours were, with great propriety, refuſed him; yet he ungratefully exerciſed his cynical declamation, on not being indulged in either alternative.

Lettres

* Confeſſions de Rouſſeau, tom 2.

Lettres de cachet were alſo frequently iſſued, out of pure tenderneſs to huſbands, who, leſt they ſhould be eye-witneſſes to the intrigues of their wives, were kindly reſcued from domeſtick diſtreſs, and ſhut up in the *Baſtile*, where they enjoyed every comfort of life, without anxiety or trouble. This indulgence was uſually granted at the ſolicitation of the lover, who evinced his paſſion to his miſtreſs, and his friendſhip to her ſpouſe, by the ſame act. A handſome *bourgeoiſe* was always ſure of attracting the gallant attention of ſome young and amorous courtier; and the confinement of her huſband was the natural conſequence: but now he will have the mortification of conſtantly beholding the indiſcretion of his wife, as his houſe will be deemed his caſtle, from which he cannot be removed without a formal proceſs of law.

But, alas! the whole of this ſublime and beautiful ſyſtem is deranged. The very

dregs

dregs of the people have fatally diſcovered that nobles, princes, and even kings, are formed of the ſame clay with themſelves, and owe their elevation and grandeur only to the accidental circumſtances of birth and fortune. It has been well obſerved, that truth ſhould not be told at all times; and ſure a truth of this dangerous tendency ſhould ever be concealed from the vulgar; for contempt often begins with them when admiration ceaſes. They were happy and content when they looked up to the great ones of the earth, as beings of a ſuperior order; but the pleaſing deluſion from whence they enjoyed ſo much felicity will quickly vaniſh; the tranſient ſplendour of a terreſtial meteor would no longer excite their wonder and aſtoniſhment, if they did not trace its origin to the heavens, and miſtake it for a falling ſtar.

I am confirmed in the juſtice of theſe ſentiments by the philoſophical obſervations of

Mr. Necker, who deſcribes, with ſympathetick delight, the happineſs of the French peaſantry before the late political revolution. "They behold," ſays he, "the oſtentatious diſplay of ranks with the cooleſt indifference; grandeur is ſo remote from their habitual ideas, that they accuſtom themſelves to look upon it as the attribute of a few beings of a ſpecies different from their's; and as they return home to their cottages, under the preſſure of a burthen they can ſcarcely bear, they ſee thoſe fiery courſers, who rapidly whirl the magnificent chariots of the rich and noble, cloſe by them, and view them with the ſame indifference as they contemplate thoſe wandering planets over their heads, whoſe twinkling motion they juſt diſcern." But this beautiful Arcadian landſcape will quickly vaniſh; the ſerenity of their preſent enjoyments will ſpeedily be diſturbed; their political conſequence in elections will excite new and aſpiring ideas,

and

and ſoon transform this humble, contented, ſubmiſſive peaſantry, into a bold, turbulent, factious yeomanry; thoſe magnificent chariots and fiery courſers will ſtop at their doors, and the rich and great will condeſcendingly alight to ſollicit their votes; they will be tempted, by long leaſes and low rents, to lead a life of care, anxiety, and labour, in the cultivation of the farms. The *taille (r)*, that excellent tax, ſo admirably calculated to maintain the ſplendour and dignity of the *nobleſſe*, and keep their tenantry in a comfortable ſtate of degradation, will be aboliſhed for ever. They will ſpurn their vegetable meal, and inſolently, perhaps, aſpire to realize the unkingly wiſh of *Henri quatre*, whoſe ſtatue is ſtill contemptuouſly exhibited on the *Pont Neuf*, as a monument of his folly:—"That he hoped to ſee the time when every peaſant in France ſhould eat fleſh meat once a day, and have a boiled fowl for his Sunday's dinner."

The

The more I conſider this important ſubject, the political evils that menace our country, from the fatal revolution in France, become more apparent. I ſhall adduce one ſtriking inſtance by which our revenue and manufactures may be ruined. The *commutation act* is now a favourite one, as it fairly and impartially compels every man to pay an additional window tax, in order to reduce the price of tea: if he does not chooſe to drink it, he has no reaſon to complain, as it is his own fault. Perhaps it will be ſuggeſted at ſome moment of popular frenzy, that the commutation act is a badge of ſlavery; for when this meaſure was firſt propoſed, it was compared in debate to the *gabelle*, a ſimilar ſort of impoſt on ſalt, which long prevailed in France, and has lately been aboliſhed by the National Aſſembly. Mr. Fox, though he owned the juſtneſs of the remark, factiouſly preferred the mild ſpirit

of French taxation; aſſerting, " that there was no degree of compariſon, on the plea of neceſſity; between the uſe of ſalt and tea.—The latter was clearly a luxury, and no ways conducive to health; perhaps far otherwiſe, as many had thought. Salt, on the contrary, was a neceſſary; and therefore it was far leſs oppreſſive to oblige the ſubjects of France to purchaſe as much ſalt as it was ſuppoſed a perſon of any given deſcription in life would have occaſion for." Theſe words may be maliciouſly repeated, to excite ſedition and diſloyalty in the minds of the people, and induce them to inſiſt on the repeal of a moſt equitable and impartial tax.—What muſt be the conſequence? The flouriſhing ſtate of the Eaſt-India Company would no longer excite Mr. Crawford's admiration; bankruptcy muſt enſue; publick credit would be ſhaken; the rapid reduction of the national debt

would ceaſe; and we ſhould no longer be charmed by the accuracy of calculation and elegance of compoſition, ſo eminently diſplayed in that annual oration, (the India budget) which ſhews forth the merit, and celebrates the praiſe, of the preſident and members of the board of control.

The dangerous proximity of the two countries alſo makes me tremble.—Our manufacturers, on any wiſe judicious extenſion of the exciſe laws, will be tempted to migrate to France, inſtead of doubling their induſtry and ſharpening their ingenuity here, both to pay the tax and evade the law. Now, as our experienced and enlightened miniſters have candidly declared, that all our future reſources of revenue, all our hopes of a permanent flouriſhing finance, muſt be derived from an extenſion of our exciſe laws, and their application to our manufactures, we may be reduced to the melancholy alternative of chooſing either to

be ruined by enforcing, or abandoning, this ſalutary ſyſtem. The threats and audacious conduct of the tobacconiſts at this moment, implicitly directed by the factious advice of an able, active, and dangerous leader in the houſe of commons, furniſh too lamentable a proof of the facility with which our fraudulent ſmuggling traders (moſt of whom are diſſenters) may be induced to ſpurn at the laws of their country, elude the wiſdom of its acts; and, with unparalleled impudence, to combat and oppoſe the opinion both of the miniſter and his ſecretary.

The moſt effectual means ſhould be inſtantly purſued to check this growing miſchief; and perhaps none could be better than re-eſtabliſhing the obſolete practice of iſſuing *general warrants*, at the diſcretion of the ſecretary of ſtate. If there ſhould ſtill remain any abſurd prejudice againſt the name, let them be called *lettres de cachet*.

A late

A late eminent magiſtrate * recommended the adoption of this meaſure, with great force of reaſoning, and unanſwerable argument, in order to check the migration of our manufacturers, and the export of our *ſpinning-Jennys*: but now the French revolution, and the wiſe extenſion of our exciſe laws, have made it not only prudent, but abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of the empire. The preſent member for Middleſex has a glorious opportunity of making the *amende honorable* to his king, country, and conſtituents, by bringing in a bill to *legalize* general warrants, or *lettres de cachet*. Let the commons paſs it, and the lords will not venture to throw it out. The daring menaces of the tobacconiſts, in their evidence, may ſerve as a preamble to the act; and a ſpecial clauſe may be inſerted to ſuſpend the pernicious operation of the *habeas corpus* act for ſeven

* Sir John Hawkins. Life of Dr. Johnſon, p. 510.

years; and at the end of that time it will be totally forgot.

In ſhort, the expediency of ſtrengthening the arm of executive power is univerſally admitted; and as we have hitherto derived all our riches, glory, and happineſs, by keeping up a cordial enmity, and provoking rivalſhip between us and France, by a total diverſity of laws, opinions, and conſtitution; let us ſtill, with patriotick pertinacity, adhere to our old ſyſtem, and we may yet bid defiance to all our enemies, foreign and domeſtick. On this principle, the following hints may be of uſe.—

Let the whole of the Britiſh revenue be farmed to that great *controller* of finance, Monſ. C. Let a royal *imprimatur* be eſtabliſhed; (nibbling at the newſpapers, by forbidding them to be *lent*, is a nugatory policy;) let both houſes of convocation meet to recommend lotteries, and his majeſty's proclamation for the reformation of manners;

ners; let them appoint a committee, (Doctor H. in the chair) to cite, degrade, and deprive ſuch of the clergy of their benefices who ſhall preſume to ſupport any of the preſent members of the houſe of commons, at the next general election, who voted for a repeal of the teſt act; let them examine, and ſentence to the flames, all publications of an immoral tendency, and commit the authors, printers, and readers to Newgate; let the ſchiſm bill, which expired on the 1ſt of Auguſt 1714, be revived; let the authority of the biſhops' court be extended, and no appeal allowed from their deciſions, except to heaven. Something of this ſort has been already done, juſt ſufficient to provoke the animadverſions of Doctor Price; and what more can be ſaid in praiſe of adminiſtration?

Even you, Sir, muſt acknowledge that I ſpread no falſe alarm, when we are at this moment menaced with a reſtoration of the

pagan

pagan divinities. The Pantheon may receive the gods of Greece and Rome; and perhaps we may ſee the worſhip which has been very lately aboliſhed at Iſernia, revived at Ranelagh. Our youth are early initiated into the myſteries of the heathen mythology, and have too ſtrong a propenſity to kneel at the ſhrine of Venus, and pour out libations to Bacchus. In ſhort, the revolution in France, the ſpirit of the diſſenters, and the licentious wiſh of a platonick philoſopher *(s)*, ſtrike me with the utmoſt horror. The approaching calamities of Britain lie heavy on my heart. At all events, I ſhall endeavour to act with fortitude and reſignation:

"Such in thoſe moments, as in all the paſt,
"O ſave my country, Heaven, ſhall be my laſt."

But a conſideration of the utmoſt importance yet remains. The dangerous revolt of the military, on whom the ſtability and glory of the French monarchy reſted, has excited my indignation,

indignation, and almoſt driven me to deſpair. If ſoldiers once preſume to conſider themſelves as citizens, to enter into any diſcuſſion and diſtinctions on this invidious ſubject, there will be no uſe in keeping up thoſe large ſtanding armies, to which modern governments owe their brilliancy and power.—No ſimilar inſtance has happened ſince the year 1688.—" James drew out his army," ſays Lord Bolingbroke, " but in vain, for it was an Engliſh one." Louis did not draw out his army, for it was no longer a French one! And thus kings have been deſerted, and delivered up into the hands of their revolted ſubjects, and a fatal revolution brought about in France and England, by the ſhameful defection of the troops. But an extenſion of the evil is ſtill to be dreaded, and has already taken effect. Papers, called *le Soldat Patriotique*, are diſperſed among the military on the continent, exciting the privates of every battallion to

mutiny; and tauntingly aſking them, whether they are not degraded, by ſubmitting to the caprice of puerile *ariſtocrates*, who are wiſely commiſſioned by their ſovereign to drill and chaſtiſe them into military diſcipline, by the magical effects of a *ratan*? Theſe inflammatory addreſſes have already had ſuch a fatal operation, that I queſtion whether a German prince could now induce his troops, by double pay, to fulfil a contract with *us* or Spain, if the flame of rebellion ſhould ſpread to her colonies in South America, or to the Iſle of Man.

On the whole, Sir, I own myſelf terrified at the very idea of innovation. The fermentation of democracy, begun in France, may extend here, and excite a fatal change in our tempers and diſpoſitions. Your philoſophical purſuits incline you to be leſs tremblingly apprehenſive; you falſely conclude from analogy, that our conſtitution may be improved by impregnating

it

it with a new principle, as you have given common water the ſpirit and flavour of Pyrmont, by a lucky infuſion of fixed air. But the ancients were wiſely, and even timidly circumſpect on this eſſential point of policy. The kings and ephori of Sparta have juſtly merited and obtained the praiſes of all poſterity for iſſuing a decree againſt Timotheus, and fining him, for adding another ſtring to the harp. Thoſe profound judges of human nature inſtantly perceived that the laws and inſtitutions of Lycurgus would ſoon be rendered inefficacious by the wanton vibrations excited in the ears of their ſober and uncorrupted youth, by this unconſtitutional ſtring. They expreſsly ſay, "He has given to our muſick an effeminate and artificial dreſs, inſtead of the plain and orderly one in which it has hitherto appeared; rendering melody infamous, by compoſing in the *chromatick*, inſtead of the *enharmonick*. Be it therefore

enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that Timotheus be baniſhed from our city, that men may be warned for the future not to introduce any *innovation* * into Sparta!"

I only quote this very ſingular hiſtorical anecdote, to convince our ſelf-opiniated, ſceptical reformers, that nothing was deemed trifling by the wiſdom of antiquity which could in the ſlighteſt degree tend to any alteration in the government.

In the preſent wildneſs of political ſpeculation in France, I ſhould not be ſurpriſed if ſome declaiming demagogue propoſed the eating of raw fleſh, *a la mode d'Abyſſinie*, in order to keep up the rage and violence of the commons in unabated vigour. An act of the National Aſſembly (conſidering their unhappy influence) would ſoon make this ſavage cuſtom faſhionable, under the fallacious pretence of reducing the price of

* Burney's Hiſtory of Muſic, vol. 1, p. 408.

wood;

wood; and rendering one article of the commercial treaty of no effect, by preventing the importation of coals. This barbarous nutriment would ſoon be reliſhed here, as we have always had a propenſity to that ſort of food; and would infallibly produce every atrocious act of ferocity which has already deſolated that devoted land.

As the paſſions, taſte, and appetites, principally originate from the phyſical properties of our diet, our virtues and vices may be traced to the ſame ſource, and improved, or counteracted, by a moral regimen. This ſentiment is neither new nor paradoxical; it has been already elucidated, with philoſophick truth and poetical beauty, by one of our moſt elegant and pleaſing poets:

" Was ever Tartar fierce or cruel
" Upon the ſtrength of water gruel?
" But who ſhall ſtand his rage and force,
" If firſt he rides, then eats his horſe*."

* Prior's *Alma*.

The

The cruelty or mildneſs of animals depends on their either being graminivorous or carnivorous; man, by his dignified nature, enjoys the optional privilege of being either; but as he is alſo diſtinguiſhed by the ſuperior faculty of *cooking* *, the direful effects of a raw-fleſh diet are counteracted by this humane refinement. The Hindoos are meek, gentle, uncommonly patient, and ſubmit to every act of extortion and rapine, with aſtoniſhing compoſure and the moſt laudable reſignation. Our countrymen, who, by their travels and indefatigable reſearches, have acquired a perfect and accurate knowledge of Indoſtan, all agree (however they may differ on other points) in giving the natives this very amiable character, and univerſally aſcribe it to their ſimple vegetable diet. This phyſical principle is ſo well underſtood, that the

* See Boſwell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, 3d edit. p. 21, note.

fighting *caſts* are compelled to eat fleſh, as an eſſential part of military diſcipline; otherwiſe they would ſoon loſe their courage and the *eſprit de corps*, and meanly degenerate into the tameneſs of mere citizens.

I could adduce ſtrong reaſons for throwing out this alarming hint, and have now in my poſſeſſion letters from a leading member of the National Aſſembly, to prove that this horrid ſcheme is in agitation. The vanity of Frenchmen induces them to think, that as they have long given the *ton, enfait de manger*, the moſt ariſtocratick people in Europe (even Spaniards and Germans) will ſoon eat themſelves into a republican frenzy, as they will be ſtimulated by a freſh incenſive at every meal. This is the favourite project of our reſtleſs and ambitious rivals at preſent, who ſtill vainly flatter themſelves with the hope of eſtabliſhing a ſhocking ſyſtem of univerſal democracy, by this infamous expedient

Our

Our beſt preſervative, in ſuch an emergency, would be a general teſt act, depriving every man of the rights and privileges of a citizen, beſides ſubjecting him to a fine, at the diſcretion of the judges, and impriſonment till it was paid, who did not produce and lodge a certificate weekly at the exciſe office, ſigned by the rector, curate, and church-wardens of the pariſh, certifying his exact compliance with the obligatory clauſes of the ſaid act, *to wit*, "That A. or B. had duly and regularly eaten his fleſh or fiſh, either boiled, roaſted, baked, broiled, or fryed." Yet I am fully perſuaded, that you, Sir, and your brethren, the diſſenters, would ſtill remain ſtubborn and refractory, and factiouſly complain of this ſalutary reſtraint, as a new grievance, and again expatiate on the natural and abſtract rights of man, to eat his meat according to his own whim, either raw or roaſted.

If

If experiments in every branch of medical philoſophy were purſued on a liberal and comprehenſive plan, new ſources of knowledge would be opened for our contemplation, and the evils of life greatly alleviated. The late Doctor Johnſon's ſpeculations on this ſubject were new and curious. I remember when the ſcheme of ſending Swiſs troops to the Eaſt Indies was talked of, a perſon in converſation cenſured it, becauſe on foreign ſervice they are liable to the *maladie du pays*, and often languiſh away their lives, unleſs they are permitted to return home. The Doctor aſked, whether there were any Scotch regiments in India? On being anſwerd in the affirmative,—" Let the Switzers, then," ſaid he, " be *inoculated* with the Scotch, and, rely on't, the diſeaſe will never reach them."

But, Sir, notwithſtanding the ſtrong ſymptoms of our approaching ruin, I re-

joice to ſee a revival of our ancient ſpirit. The corporation and teſt acts have not been repealed; *elſe* inſurrection, irreligion, and anarchy, would have been the conſequence. Thoſe acts are our defence againſt the encroachments of non-conformity;—they are the ſhield of our faith, which protects us againſt the darts of fanaticiſm. What is the preſbyterian plea of merit? The ſtorm that overturned the church and ſtate was raiſed by you; otherwiſe we ſhould have enjoyed at this moment the bleſſed calm of arbitrary power; for it was a meritorious device in the clergy to convert, by a ſpecies of political tranſubſtantiation, that implicit obedience they owed the pope, into an unlimited allegiance to the king: "And thus," ſays the ſarcaſtick Doctor Hurd *, "aroſe in the church that pernicious ſyſtem of divine indefeaſable right, broached indeed by the

* Moral and Political Dialogues.

clergy,

clergy, but not from thoſe corrupt and temporary views to which it has been imputed." Sir John Maynard betrays the virulence of a whig, in his anſwer.—" This apology," ſays he, " is the beſt that could be made for them; but when one conſiders the baneful tendency of thoſe doctrines which were calculated to enſlave the ſouls and conſciences of men, and, by advancing princes into the rank of gods, to juſtify their tyranny, one cannot help feeling a ſtrong reſentment againſt the teachers of them, however they themſelves might be impoſed on by ſeveral colourable pretences."

It is my boaſt, Sir, to have already demonſtrated the eſſential benefits reſulting from deſpotiſm and perſecution, and to have ſhewn the hierarchy in a true light, conſiſtently labouring to promote both: I therefore truſt thoſe unfounded aſperſions which have unguardedly dropt from the pen of the Biſhop of Worceſter, will have

little weight with the candid reader. Let us now advert to the conduct of the diſſenters at that critical period.—It is thus deſcribed by Mr. Hume, with whiggiſh rancour, and fanatical partiality:—" Any word or writing which tended towards hereſy, ſchiſm, or ſedition," ſays he, " was puniſhed by the high commiſſioners, or any three of them. They alone were judges of whatever expreſſions had that tendency;—they proceeded not by information, but upon rumour, ſuſpicion, or according to their own fancy! The *puritanical* party, though diſguiſed, [men of *cloſe* ambition,] had a very great authority over the kingdom; and many of the leaders among the commons had embraced the tenets of that ſect. All theſe were diſguſted with the court, both by the prevalence of civil liberty *eſſential to their party*, and on account of the reſtraints under which they were held by the eſtabliſhed hierarchy." Thus the virtuous auſterity

auſterity of Archbiſhop Laud, and the unſhaken attachment of Charles to epiſcopacy, were fatally counteracted by the rebellious diſpoſition of the diſſenters; otherwiſe we ſhould have had an holy inquiſitorial tribunal to watch over our morals, and regulate our conſciences, at this day.

Is it ſurpriſing, then, that you are held in abhorrence by the dignitaries of the church? They have been rouſed from their lethargy; they no longer ſlumber in their ſtalls; they have been convened "from the four quarters of the heavens" to ſtigmatiſe your proceedings. Like the Jewiſh prieſts * of old, who enjoyed the excluſive privilege of blowing the ſacred trumpet, Doctor H. has ſounded an alarm from Mount *Sion*, and gathered the elect together, to avenge themſelves of their enemies.

"——Quo non præſtantius alter
"Ære ciere viros, martenique accendere cantu."

VIRGIL.

* Numbers, x. 8.

Have

Have you not, Sir, avowed the ſame principles with your anceſtors? and do you not well deſerve a ſimilar treatment? I ſee the genuine ſpirit of the primitive church revive, and the preſent race of diſſenters are the object of its wrath. Such pious fervency was never equalled, except by the orthodox zeal of the planters at Jamaica, who, about a century ago, petitioned King William "to baniſh the Jews from that iſland, becauſe they were the deſcendants of the crucifiers of our lord *."

"Ill will to the eſtabliſhment, muſt in all governments belong to a diſſenter, if he be an honeſt man," ſays a reverend prelate †; "the man himſelf all the while believes he is doing God and his country ſervice, and the harm that he may do under

* Hiſtory of Jamaica, vol. 2, p. 293,

† Review of the Caſe of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, p. 14. See alſo Biſhop Bonner's Comment on the Statute *de Comburendis Hereticis*; where the ſame ſentiment is ably maintained, and finely illuſtrated.

this

this notion, will be only ſo much the more, the greater we ſuppoſe his virtue and abilities." This impreſſive truth cannot but have great weight with the publick, when the moral character of the diſſenters is conſidered; if they were vicious and profligate, there would be leſs danger.

It was confidently, indeed, aſſerted in debate, by Mr. Fox, that "it was neither juſt nor candid to charge the diſſenters with deſigns which both their conduct and profeſſions contradict. On this fallacious ground," ſays he, "every ſpecies of perſecution, from the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew down to the corporation and teſt act, may be juſtified." Such arguments are clearly erroneous; yet they are always ſet off by this ſubdolous orator with ſuch deluſive ability, energy of expreſſion, and impoſing candour, that they too often make a fatal impreſſion on the houſe. Hence his powers of deception; his poſitions being

frequently admitted as true, even on points of law and the practice of the courts, though contrary to the opinion of the moſt eminent lawyers, who generally neglect or diſdain to anſwer him. Yet, in defiance of this ſpecious logick, I ſtill ſay, that the proteſtant diſſenters have entered into a ſolemn league and covenant to deſtroy our civil and eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment becauſe I would do ſo in a ſimilar ſituation; therefore I hate and perſecute them, perfectly convinced I ſhould merit the ſame treatment myſelf. Is not this ſtrictly fulfilling that divine precept, of doing to all men what I would they ſhould do unto me? This internal conviction, (as Hobbes finely obſerves,) from the very conſtitution of human nature, muſt operate ſtronger on me than either the conduct or profeſſions of the diſſenters. Allow me to elucidate this by a familiar inſtance:—Let us ſuppoſe a criminal arraigned at the Old-Bailey; may not the jury conſcientiouſly conclude,

conclude, that if they had been in the *ſame* ſituation with the priſoner, they would have committed the *ſame* crime; and therefore find him guilty, though contrary both to fact and evidence, and notwithſtanding the culprit's ſolemn aſſeveration of his innocence.

On this principle I join iſſue with Mr. Fox, and aſſert with him, that the ſame orthodox argument juſtifies every ſpecies of perſecution; therefore I have made it the foundation of all my reaſoning on this miſrepreſented and miſtaken ſubject.

The example of Ireland has been alledged, as a triumphant inſtance of no bad conſequences having enſued from a repeal of the teſt act: but to this a moſt ſatisfactory anſwer has been given by the author of *A Review of the Caſe of the Diſſenters*.—"The repeal of the Iriſh teſt act, in 1779, was probably," ſays he, "occaſioned by the dread of a Spaniſh invaſion. But what is the true uſe of Ireland's exam-

ple? Eleven years are not yet paſſed over ſince the repeal took place. Is the repeal of the teſt act juſtified as a political meaſure, or is it not, by the preſent ſituation of the church and kingdom? Let the queſtion ſleep; its diſcuſſion might be more unpleaſant than it could be profitable. *But let Great Britan beware.*"

I am extremely glad that Doctor H. has boldly and openly alluded to the treaſonable negociation carried on between Spain and the diſſenters of Ulſter, in 1779, as the Iriſh ſectaries are very irritable, and ſore on this tender point. The fact is, that a ſynod, denominated the *Northern Aſſociation*, was aſſembled at Belfaſt, and ſome propoſitions actually moved, for delivering up the province and the linen manufacture to Spain, if government any longer oppoſed the repeal of the teſt act. It is reported, that Mr. Fletcher (who recently ſaved the church and ſtate, by diſcloſing the dreadful

conſpiracy of the diſſenting miniſters at Bolton, in Lancaſhire,) was providentially a member of the Iriſh ſynod; and ſecretly withdrawing himſelf from the aſſembly, he took poſt, arrived in a few hours at Dublin caſtle, and laid this alarming intelligence before the Lord Lieutenant.—A council was ſuddenly called, and the heads of a bill drawn up and certified, (Poyning's excellent law being then in force,) and tranſmitted to England, for a repeal of the teſt act.—A copy was diſpatched to the ſynod, entreating them at the ſame time to break off all negociation with Spain. After ſome debate, their requeſt was complied with, and the motions of the combined fleets in the channel became very languid, as Count d'Orvilliers' projects were utterly diſconcerted by this wiſe and judicious meaſure. The original papers, and the whole of the correſpondence between the preſident of the ſynod and the Marquis del C——, I hear, will be

publiſhed by the Biſhop of St. David's, as an appendix to his next edition of "A Review of the Caſe*."

Now, ſir, permit me to aſk you a plain queſtion:—Does not the church ſet an example to the diſſenters how they ſhould conduct themſelves on caſuiſtical difficulties? Is it not perfectly underſtood, that numbers of the clergy ardently wiſh to be relieved from ſubſcription to the thirty-nine articles, and ſome years ago ſtated their reaſons, with great force and preciſion, in a petition to the houſe of commons? Yet, as the legiſlature did not think proper to comply with their requeſt, they ſubmit patiently, and conſider the coercion of the ſubſiſting law as an ample juſtification for their involuntary acquieſcence.

* This reverend prelate's zeal is a ſtriking exemplification of a beautiful paſſage in Doctor P——'s ſermon, preached at the funeral of Archbiſhop Secker, where he ſays, "that could the world but ſee the haraſſing cares, which torment their boſoms, their perpetual anxieties, and diſtreſſing apprehenſions for the ſouls of thoſe committed to their care, BISHOPS need not be envied their coaches, their emoluments, their titles, or their dignitaries."

They

They conceive obedience, and holding their livings, to be their primary indiſpenſible duty, even on the tenure of ſubſcription to articles which they do not believe.—Yet they ſtill maintain their conſcientious objections in theory, and exhibit a laudable ingenuity, by reconciling unſullied principle with worldly wiſdom: this is indeed fulfilling the ſcripture, *be ye wiſe as ſerpents and innocent as doves.*

Oaths are taken, and their obligation examined by them, with the ſame candour and liberality, on the incontrovertible maxims of moral and political philoſophy, ſo ably illuſtrated by Archdeacon Paley, who ſhrewdly obſerves, " That members of colleges, and other ancient foundations, are ſtill required to ſwear to the obſervance of their reſpective ſtatutes; which obſervance is become in ſome caſes *unlawful*, in others *impracticable*, in others *uſeleſs*, in others *inconvenient* *." But, if the act you ſwear

* *Principles of Moral and Political Philoſophy*, Vol. I. c. 21, p. 215. 5th edit.

to

to perform be abſurd and impracticable, you are, *ipſo facto*, abſolved at the moment you take it. So, if the cauſe for preſcribing the oath originally no longer exiſts, you are equally abſolved, as the effect neceſſarily ceaſes with the cauſe. If the ſpecifick acts enjoined are impracticable or abſurd, you virtually and truly comply with the genuine ſpirit of the oath, as far as you poſſibly can;—which is the utmoſt you could do, even if you ſtrictly and literally fulfilled every injunction, ſuppoſing they were neither abſurd or impracticable. It may be invidiouſly aſked, then, where is the utility of ſuch a ſolemn appeal to Heaven? and whether it would not be better either to form practicable oaths, or diſpenſe with impracticable ones? My conſtant anſwer is—the danger to be apprehended from any *innovation*. Beſides, one principal uſe of an univerſity education would be loſt; which is, to inſpire our ingenuous youth with a due veneration for the

the founders of colleges, who framed both the ſtatute and the oath. By this means, the ſtudents are alſo early acquainted with the refinements of logick, and the ſubtilty of moral diſtinctions, and rendered leſs ſcrupulous on trivial points, which might otherwiſe impede their progreſſive fortunes in life.

Thus, Sir, animated with the moſt ardent zeal for the proſperity and glory of Britain, I have exerted my utmoſt efforts to inſpire my countrymen with a true ſpirit of obedience, ſubmiſſion, and loyalty. The church is in danger; the conſtitution is menaced; a puritanical ſavageneſs of manners ſpreads among the people; the deſponding ſerioufneſs of fanaticiſm has contaminated their hearts and infected the land. Atheiſm and democracy have formed a new family-compact, and this new and formidable alliance will be our ruin; I ſee nothing but clouds and darkneſs in the air; for Deſpotiſm has almoſt finiſhed his ſplendid courſe, and ſcarce emits

emits one refracted ray, to cheer the impending gloom, and prolong the twilight of his reign.

Liberty, as every true Engliſhman knows, can only appear "profuſe of bliſs and pregnant with delight," ſeated on her throne, with the crown and mitre in conjunction on her head, adorned in the ſumptuous robes of the peerage, with the teſt act in one hand, and the exciſe laws in the other. You will tell me, perhaps, with republican enthuſiaſm, that you can admire her dreſſed up in ruſtick ſimplicity, amidſt the bleak mountains of Switzerland, ſurrounded by a hardy peaſantry of ſoldiers, fertilizing the rocks, and turning the very ſtones into bread. You will tell me, that you can admire her in *naked majeſty*, roving amidſt the boundleſs foreſts of America, diffuſing her own ſpirit of attraction through diſtant regions, and uniting them by its divine energy; where conſcience is not ſhackled by bigotry; where

toleration

toleration is proſcribed, as only implying a ſuſpenſion of perſecution; where obedience to the laws is the teſt of allegiance, and the *virtue* * of the man does not ſtigmatize the citizen. You will tell me, that you can admire this favourite goddeſs of your's, where ſhe reduces all ranks, and levels all invidious diſtinctions, by reſtoring man to his natural equality, dignified alone by thoſe ſuperior talents beſtowed on him by the Divinity; where all the brilliant traits of the human mind, unſubdued by the uniform glare and wide effulgence of monarchy, are diſplayed in their true and original colours.

I know you will tell me, that your eye is not microſcopic enough to diſcern the minute ſpots in the ſun of liberty that has lately riſen in France; which has deigned to reviſit the deſerted ſhores of Corſica, and, in its glorious progreſs, has illumined the whole political atmoſphere of Europe.

* See note, page 70.

But, Sir, I ſit down contented, and ſhall enjoy the conſcious ſatisfaction of having performed my duty.—I have painted the calamities of France; I have forewarned Britain of her danger. The ſceptre trembles in the hands of kings; the ſtability of every throne is ſhaken, by the late political convulſion; the ſhock is not confined to France; it acts like "the electrical returning ſtroke, which often produces fatal effects at a vaſt diſtance from the place where the lightning falls *."

I hope, Sir, you will excuſe the freedom with which I have thus publickly addreſſed you; and be perſuaded, that I can admire the celebrated philoſopher in Doctor Prieſtley, though I have the misfortune to differ with him ſo eſſentially on religion and politics.

I am, Sir, Your's, &c.

J. C.

Bryanſtone-ſtreet,
April 26th, 1790.

* *Principles of Electricity*, by Lord Mahon, 1779.

NOTES.

NOTES.

P. 4. (*a*) DR. Lowth.—" Num verendum erat ne quis tyrannidem Piſiſtratidarum Athenis inſtaurare auderet, ubi in omnibus conviviis, et æque ab infima plebe in compitis, quotidie cantitaretur Σκολιον illud Calliſtrati neſcio cujus, ſed ingenioſi certe poetæ, et valde boni civis?

" Quod ſi poſt idus illas martias e Tyrannoctonis quiſpiam tale aliquod carmen plebi tradidiſſet, inque Suburram, et fori circulos, et in ora vulgi intuliſſet, actum profecto fuiſſet de partibus deque dominatione Cæſarum: plus mehercule valuiſſet unum Harmodii μελος quam Ciceronis Philippicæ omnes." Prælectiones Hebraicæ, p. 15.

It has been thus elegantly tranſlated by Sir William Jones.

Verdant myrtles branchy pride,
Shall my thirſty blade entwine:
Such HERMODIUS deck'd thy ſide,
Such ARISTOGITON thine.

Nobleſt Youths! in iſlands bleſt,
Not like recreant idlers dead;
You with fleet PELIDES reſt,
And with Godlike DIOMED.

Myrtle ſhall our brows entwine
While the Muſe your fame ſhall tell;
'Twas at Pallas' ſacred ſhrine,
At your feet the Tyrant fell.

Then in Athens all was peace,
Equal laws and liberty:
Nurſe of arts and eye of Greece,
People valiant, firm and free!

P. 5. (*b*) The late Lord Chatham probably alluded to the abſolution in the Viſitation of the ſick, where the prieſt expreſsly ſays, " From the authority committed to me, I abſolve thee from all thy ſins."

P. 5. (*c*) " The famous controverſy concerning the decrees of God, with reſpect to the eternal condition of man, which was ſet on foot by CALVIN, becomes an inexhauſtible ſource of intricate reſearches, and abſtruſe, ſubtle, and inexplicable queſtions. He maintained that the everlaſting condition of man in a future world was determined from all eternity by the unchangeable order of the Deity; and that this *abſolute* determination of his will and *good pleaſure*, was the *only* ſource of happineſs or miſery to every individual. This opinion was in a very ſhort time propagated through all the reformed churches, and in *ſome places* was inſerted in the national creeds and confeſſions, and ſo thus made a publick *article of faith*." Moſheim, vol. iv, p. 73. See alſo the 17th Article of Religion, on " Predeſtination and Election."

P. 5. (*d*) " In the 17th century James Arminius, profeſſor of divinity in the Univerſity of Leyden, rejected the doctrine of the church of Geneva, in relation to the deep and intricate parts of predeſtination and grace; and maintained, with the Lutherans, that God has excluded *none* from ſalvation by an abſolute and eternal decree. In England the fate of religion changed conſiderably; and this change, which was entirely in favour of *Arminianiſm*, was principally effected by the counſels and influence of WILLIAM LAUD, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*." Moſheim, vol. iv. p. 499.

P. 5. (*e*) " Of the countries bordering on the Gold Coaſt, the kingdom of Dahomey is the largeſt, governed by the

the moſt abſolute tyrant that exiſts on earth. Whydah, where the Engliſh, French, and Portugueſe have forts, is a province belonging to this monarch, having been conquered by his grandfather about ſixty years ago. In Dahomey there is no individual freeman, except the king. The king is abſolute maſter of the lives and properties of his ſubjects, and he ſports with their lives in the moſt wanton and ſavage manner. Mr. Norris has ſeen at the gates of his palace two piles of heads, like ſhot in an arſenal; within the palace, the heads of perſons newly put to death are ſtrewed at the diſtance of a few yards in the paſſage that leads to the apartment of this tyrant, in order to inſpire the perſon who is to be admitted to an audience, with awe and terror. Mr. Norris does not ſpeak of one particular tyrant; it is the cuſtom of the country on great occaſions, ſuch as the reception of meſſengers from neighbouring ſtates, or of white merchants, and in general, on days of ceremonial; but the great carnage is once a year, when the poll-tax is paid by his ſubjects. Mr. Norris cannot exactly ſay how many are executed in this manner in the courſe of the year, but ſpeaks within compaſs when he reckons them at a thouſand. This is the cuſtom of the monarchy, and this power extends over his whole dominions. The kingdom is very populous, and runs about 350 miles inland. The roof of the palace is decorated with a prodigious number of human heads; and when the king means to make war, it is an expreſſion in uſe to ſay, *the palace wants thatching.* The great men of the country cut off a few heads in theſe feſtivals, which is a part only of the ſame ceremonial, and the victims are taken from thoſe deſtined for execution by the king. Parents have no ſort of property in their children in the Dahoman territories; the children be-

long entirely to the king, and are taken by his order from their mothers at an early age, and diſtributed in villages remote from the palace of their nativity, where there is but little chance of their being ſeen, or at leaſt recognized by their parents afterwards. Notwithſtanding this, the people of Dahomey never quit the country; with an extraordinary ſubmiſſion they revere the name of their Sovereign, and never mention it in their moſt private apartments without kneeling; ſuch is the force of Education and *habit*."—Reports on the Slave Trade Part the firſt. Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council of the Slave Trade, Part IV.

P. 6. *(f)* " If maidens are raviſh'd, it is their own choice,
" Why are they ſo wilful to ſtruggle with men?
" If they would but lie quiet, and ſtifle their voice,
" No devil or dean could raviſh them then."

SWIFT'S BALLAD ON AN ENGLISH DEAN.

P. 7. *(g)* So religiouſly ſcrupulous were the Gentiles on this point, that, as the learned Dr. *Comber*, in his *Hiſtorical Vindication of the Divine Right of Tythes*, juſtly remarks, " Melcheſidec was both a prince and a prieſt among the Phœnicians, and uſed to receive tythes: ſo that we may be ſure tything was very ancient there; for the Carthaginians, who were a colony of Phœnicians, tranſplanted into Africa, about 900 years after the death of Sem, A. M. 3675, brought with them this cuſtom from Tyre; to which city they uſed to ſend their tythe, by one clothed in purple and prieſtly robes *(a)*. And Diodorus Siculus more fully faith, that being in great ſtraits in their wars, they feared Hercules of Tyre was angry with them, in that, being deſcended thence, they had

uſed

uſed in the times before to ſend to that god the tythe of all their profits, but becoming rich, they neglected this, till their miſery made them repent and ſend it as before (*b*).—Mr. Selden grants that the Grecians conſecrated their tythes ſo often to Apollo, that he was called Δεκατηφορος, which may be tranſlated the Tythetaker.—The hymn he cites out of Callimachus, page 30, ſhews, that firſt fruits, in the proportion of a tenth, were every year ſent to Delos, unto the ſame God; but Mr. S. hath omitted the two next verſes, which expreſsly ſay, "theſe were the tythes of corn." And we may well ſuppoſe he had tythes of all profits, when ſo infamous a gain as that of Rhodope afforded a conſecration to him (*c*): and that this was uſual, may be gathered from that other courtezan, in the old poem, "who vows to offer the tenth of all her gains to Venus" (*d*).—The Siphnians paid a yearly tythe of their mines (*e*); and it was doubtleſs paid as a due; becauſe upon their omitting it, they loſt their mines, by the juſtice of the gods.—Porphyry alſo relates, out of Heſiod, one of the oldeſt poets, that the gods had utterly deſtroyed an atheiſtical and irreligious people, called Theos, becauſe they paid no firſt fruits, as they ought to have done (*f*): which divine judgement muſt have been long before Heſiod's time; and, even then, it ſeems it was ſo unuſual an impiety, that the deſtruction of that people was believed to proceed from that cauſe. Yet judgements are not wont to be ſent down upon whole nations for omitting arbitrary and accidental acts of extraordinary devotion."

Hiſt. Vindication, &c. p. 20, 30, 34.

(*a*) Juſtin. Hiſtor. l. 18, p. 186. (*b*) Diodor. Sic. Hiſtor. l. 5.
(*c*) Herodot. Euterp. l. 2, p. 160. (*d*) Anthолog. l. 6.
(*e*) Herodot. l. 3, p. 210. (*f*) Porphyr. de Abſtin. l. 4, ſ. 8, p. 56.

A few

A few of the *rabbis*, of the ſect of the Sadducees, have aſſerted, that tythes were paid to the Jewiſh prieſts, (the tribe of Levi,) as a compenſation for their giving up their ſhare in the diviſion of the land of Canaan, to which they were equally entitled, as one of the twelve tribes of Iſrael;—but this opinion has juſtly been deemed heretical, and is clearly proved ſo, by the learned and orthodox Dr. Comber.

What an amiable trait does this learned divine give of the pious conduct of Rhodope! but why ſhe dedicated the tythe of her amorous gain to Apollo, the doctor has not explained: Venus, under whoſe propitious banners ſhe ſerved, might have received the gift with more propriety. To her we find the other courtezan alluded to by this reverend writer, made her votive offerings. The epigram in the *Anthologia* to which he refers, may be thus freely tranſlated:

Fair Nicarete long to Pallas bows,
To Venus now ſhe breathes her fervent vows:
Adieu, ſhe cries, my diſtaff, and my loom,
The houſewife's taſk no more ſhall waſte my bloom;
Such taſks the old and ugly may employ,
While feſtive love ſhall thrill my ſoul with joy.
With roſes crown'd, and fluſh'd with warm deſire,
To Cytherea ſtill I'll tune my lyre:
Speed thou my gains, my native charms refine!
A tythe I'll give, 'tis your's by right divine.

Anthol. lib. vi. c. 8. ep. 9.

I am told a clauſe was to have been inſerted in a bill, intended to have been brought in by a worthy Baronet, for the regulation and reformation of women of the town, obliging them to pay a *tenth*, for the augmentation of thoſe curates' ſalaries who have not above twenty

twenty pounds a year;—no doubt with the unanimous approbation of the bench of biſhops.

P. 9. (*b*) " The tythe, and every other land tax of this kind, under the appearance of perfect equality, are very unequal taxes; a certain portion of the produce being, in different ſituations, equivalent to a very different portion of the rent. In ſome very rich lands, the produce is ſo great, that the one-half of it is fully ſufficient to replace to the farmer his capital employed in cultivation, together with the ordinary profits of farming ſtock in the neighbourhood; the other half, or, what comes to the ſame thing, the value of the other half, he could afford to pay as rent to the landlord, if there was no tythe:—but if the tenth of the profit is taken from him by way of tythe, he muſt require an abatement of the fifth part of his rent, otherwiſe he cannot get back his capital with the ordinary profit. In this caſe, the rent of the landlord, inſtead of amounting to a half, or five-tenths of the whole produce, will amount only to four-tenths of it. In poorer lands, on the contrary, the produce is ſometimes ſo ſmall, and the expence of cultivation ſo great, that it requires four-fifths of the whole produce to replace to the farmer his capital with the ordinary profit. In this caſe, though there was no tythe, the rent of the landlord could amount to no more than one-fifth or two-tenths of the whole produce. But if the farmer pays one-tenth of the produce in the way of tythe, he muſt require an equal abatement of the rent of the landlord, which will thus be reduced to one tenth only of the whole produce. Upon the rent of rich lands, the tythe may ſometimes be a tax of no more than one-fifth part, or four ſhillings in the pound; whereas upon that of

poorer lands it may ſometimes be a tax of one-half, or of ten ſhillings in the pound.

" The tythe, as it is frequently a very unequal tax upon the rent, ſo it is always a great diſcouragement both to the improvements of the landlord and to the cultivation of the farmer: the one cannot venture to make the moſt important, which are generally the moſt expenſive, improvements; nor the other to raiſe the moſt valuable, which are generally too the moſt expenſive, crops, when the church, which lays out no part of the expence, is to ſhare ſo very largely in the profit. The cultivation of madder was for a long time confined by the tythe to the United Provinces; which, being Preſbyterian countries, and, upon that account, exempted from this deſtructive tax, enjoyed a ſort of monopoly of that uſeful dying drug, againſt the reſt of Europe. The late attempts to introduce the culture of this plant into England, have been made only in conſequence of the ſtatute which enacted that five ſhillings an acre ſhould be received in lieu of all manner of tythe upon madder." Smith's Wealth of Nations, Vol. III.

P. 11. *(i)* " The *Biſhops* aſſumed, in many places, a princely authority, particularly thoſe who had the greateſt number of churches under their inſpection, and who preſided over the moſt opulent aſſemblies. They appropriated to their evangelical function the ſplendid enſigns of temporal majeſty.

" A throne, ſurrounded with miniſters, exalted above his equals the ſervant of the meek and humble Jeſus; and ſumptuous garments dazzled the eyes and minds of the multitude into an ignorant veneration for their arrogated authority. The example of the Biſhops was ambitiouſly imitated by the *Preſbyters*, who, neglecting the

ſacred

ſacred duties of their ſtations, abandoned themſelves to the indolence and delicacy of an effeminate and luxurious life. The *Deacons*, beholding the Preſbyters deſerting thus their functions, boldly uſurped their rights and privileges; and the effects of a corrupt ambition were ſpread through every rank of the ſacred order." Moſheim's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. 1. p. 216.

P. 14. (*k*) Theſe apoſtates would fain revive Cato's ſtoical creed, preſerved by Lucan, Book IX. ver. 576.

Hæremus cuncti ſuperis, templòque tacente
Nil facimus non ſponte dei: nec vocibus ullis
Numen eget: dixitque ſemel naſcentibus auctor,
Quidquid ſcire licet: ſterileis nec legit arenas
Ut caneret paucis, merſitque hôc pulvere verum.
Eſtne dei ſedes niſi terra, & pontus & aër,
Et cœlum & virtus? Superos quid quærimus ultrà?
Jupiter eſt, quodcunque vides, quocunque moveris.

P. 17. (*l*) The work is entitled 'A Plan of Lectures on the Principles of Non-Conformity, for the Inſtruction of Catechumens;' by R. Robinſon. It made its firſt appearance about the year 1778. In the year 1781 it had ran through four editions, and a *fifth* was ſent *abroad*. This rapid ſale is no leſs than the ſolemn judgement of the eaſtern aſſociation, and a proof of the approbation with which it has been received by the general body of the non-conformiſts." Review of the Caſe of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, page 23.

P. 17. (*m*) All theſe ſchiſmatick ideas are conſonant to thoſe of Moſheim, whoſe character and writings I have already deſcribed.

"Neither Chriſt himſelf, nor his holy apoſtles, have commanded any thing clearly or expreſsly concerning

the external form of the church, and the preciſe method according to which it ſhould be governed. From this we may infer, that the regulation of this was, in ſome meaſure, to be accommodated to the time.

" The people were undoubtedly the firſt in authority; for the apoſtles ſhewed, by their own example, that nothing of moment was to be carried on or determined without the conſent of the aſſembly (*a*): and ſuch a method of proceeding was both prudent and neceſſary in thoſe critical times. It was afterwards judged neceſſary that one man of diſtinguiſhed gravity and wiſdom ſhould preſide in the council of Preſbyters, in order to diſtribute among his colleagues their ſeveral taſks, and to be a centre of union to the whole ſociety. This perſon was at firſt ſtyled the *angel* (*b*) of the church to which he belonged, but was afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the name of *biſhop*, or inſpector; a name borrowed from the Greek language, Ἐπισκοπος, inſpector, and expreſſing the principal part of the epiſcopal function, which was to inſpect into, and ſuperintend the affairs of the church." Moſheim, vol. 1, cent. 1.

P. 20. (*n*) " Marriage was permitted to all the various ranks and orders of the clergy, high and low. Thoſe, however, who continued in a ſtate of celibacy, obtained by this abſtinence a higher reputation of ſanctity and value than others. This was owing to an almoſt general perſuaſion, that they who took wives were of all others the moſt ſubject to the power of malignant demons; and as it was of infinite importance to the intereſts of the church that no impure or malevolent ſpirit entered into the bodies of ſuch as were appointed to govern or inſtruct others, ſo the people were deſirous that the clergy ſhould uſe their

(*a*) Acts, i. 15. vi. 3. xv. 4. xxi. 22. (*b*) Rev. ii. 3.

utmoſt

utmoſt efforts to abſtain from the pleaſures of conjugal life. Many of the ſacred orders, eſpecially in *Africa*, conſented to ſatisfy the deſires of the people; and endeavoured to do this in ſuch a manner as not to offer an entire violence to their own inclinations. For this purpoſe, they formed connections with thoſe women who had made vows of perpetual chaſtity; and it was an ordinary thing for an eccleſiaſtick to admit one of theſe ſaints to a participation of his bed; but ſtill under the moſt ſolemn declarations, that nothing paſſed in this commerce contrary to the rules of chaſtity and virtue. Theſe holy concubines were called by the Greeks Συνεισακτοι, and by the Latins, Mulieres Superinductæ."

Moſheim, vol. 1, p. 218.

P. 22. (*o*) "Je reprends la ſuite de mes réflexions, et je place ici une obſervation importante; c'eſt que plus l'étendue des impôts entretient le peuple dans l'abattement et dans la miſère, plus il eſt indiſpenſable de lui donner une éducation religieuſe, car c'eſt dans l'irritation du malheur, qu'on a ſur tout beſoin, et d'une chaîne puiſſante, et d'une conſolation journalière. Les abus ſucceſſifs de la force et de l'autorité, en bouleverſant tous les rapports qui exiſtoient originairement entre les hommes, ont élevé, au milieu d'eux, un édifice tellement artificiel, et où il règne tant de diſproportion, que l'idée d'un dieu y eſt devenue plus néceſſaire que jamais, pour ſervir de nivellement à cet aſſemblage confus de diſparités de tout genre." De l'Importance des Opinions Religieuſes; par M. Necker, p. 18.

P. 29. (*p*) I am aware that Monſieur Gebelin in his *Monde Primitive*, maintains another hypotheſis, with great ingenuity, founded on his aſtoniſhing knowledge in etymology,

logy; that the Africans are deſcended from Cain, who loſt ſays he, the beautiful property of reflecting light (or in common language became black) on killing his brother Abel. But this genealogy has been incontrovertibly diſproved by the force and depth of Mr. Bryant's arguments, who has clearly deduced the origin of the *Ouran Outangs*, from Cain; the derangement of the organs of pronunciation, being the mark inſtantly ſet on him when he committed that crime, which by hereditary right has deſcended to his degenerate poſterity. Lord Monboddo, in his deep reſearches on the origin and progreſs of language, aſſerts that a whole nation if (he adds) I may call them ſo, has been found without the uſe of ſpeech. This is the caſe of the Ouran Outangs; yet his Lordſhip with a candour and liberality that does him the higheſt honour, has given up his opinion, on a fair examination of Mr. Bryant's reaſons; and has very judiciouſly declared his deſign of eſtabliſhing an academy for teaching the Ouran Outangs, the Greek language and antient metaphyſicks.

Vol. I. p. 174.

P. 30. (*q*) See the correſpondence between Mr. Bryant and Mr. Granville Sharp, where this important point is ſettled to the ſatisfaction of the learned world—"I had always ſuppoſed that black men in general (ſays Mr. Sharp) were deſcended from Cuſh.—Can the Cuſhi (commonly rendered Ethiopian) change his ſkin? Jeremiah xiii. 21." "You ſeem to think (ſays our profound mythologiſt in his anſwer) that all who are of that very deep tint, which is obſervable in the natives upon the coaſt of Guinea, are the offſpring of Chus.—All the inhabitants of this vaſt continent are aſſuredly the ſons of *Ham*, but not equally deſcended from Chus; for though his poſterity was very dark, yet many of the collateral branches were of as deep

 a dye;

a dye; and Africa was peopled from *Ham*, by more families than one."

" The negroes (he adds) are woolly headed, and ſo were ſome of the Æthiopes or *Cuſhim*; but nothing can be inferred from this, for many of the latter had long hair. The Ægyptians were *Criſpi*, and had a tendency to woolly hair; ſo that this circumſtance cannot always be looked upon as a family characteriſtick."

The diſſection at Jamaica was deſigned to aſcertain the Abbé Spalanzani's ingenious conjecture, and was performed on the body of the Negro Girl, who died in a few hours after being deſervedly, though ſeverely puniſhed by her maſter, who was tried for murder, and very properly acquitted:—For as ſhe lived ſome time, ſhe might have been ſeized with a ſudden intervening diſeaſe, and the jury, coolly and impartially conſidering the poſſibility of ſuch a circumſtance, gave their verdict accordingly. This is alſo perfectly conſonant to the humane principle of criminal law promulgated by the Jewiſh legiſlator, and is a ſtrong proof (how could it eſcape the ſagacity of Biſhop Warburton!) of the Divine Legation of Moſes.—

" And, if a man ſmite his ſervant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand, he ſhall be ſurely puniſhed. Notwithſtanding, if he continue a day or two, he ſhall not be puniſhed:—for *he is his money*." Levit. xxi. 20, 21.

P. 48. (*r*) " The *taille*, as it ſtill ſubſiſts in France, may ſerve as an example of thoſe antient tallages.—It is a tax upon the ſuppoſed profits of the farmer, which they eſtimate by the ſtock that he has upon the farm. It is his intereſt therefore to appear to have as little as poſſible, and conſequently to employ as little as poſſible in its cultivation, and none in its improvement. Should any ſtock happen to accumulate in the hands of a French farmer, the taille is almoſt equal to a prohibition of its ever being employed upon the land. This tax, beſides,

is

is ſuppoſed to diſhonour whoever is ſubject to it, and to degrade him below not only the rank of a gentleman, but that of a burgher; and whoever rents the lands of another, becomes ſubject to it. No gentleman, nor even a burgher, who has ſtock, will ſubmit to this degradation. This tax therefore not only hinders the ſtock which accumulates upon the land from being employed in its improvement, but drives away all other ſtock from it. The ancient tenths and fifteenths, ſo uſual in England in former times, ſeem, ſo far as they affected the land, to have been taxes of the ſame nature with the taille." Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. 2, p. 96.

P. 56 (s) " Yet though the reſtoration of ancient theology is the object of the moſt ardent deſires, I much fear that a period ſtill more barbarous, with reſpect to philoſophy, that an age ſtill darker and more debaſed, muſt precede its eſtabliſhment on the earth. Prodigies and deſtruction attended, as we ſhall obſerve in the enſuing hiſtory, its departure from mankind; and deſolation will doubtleſs be the harbinger of its future appearance.

" The orb of viciſſitude produces renovation and decay, in regular ſucceſſion, and marks, as it revolves, the dormant events of future periods with the *ruinous* characters of the paſt. Let us therefore patiently wait for, and joyfully expect, the happy moment when the breezes of philoſophy ſhall ariſe with abundance and vigour, and impel the veſſel of theology, laden with the riches of wiſdom, on our natal coaſt.

" The revolution is certain, however remote; and the proſpect is of itſelf ſufficient to increaſe the vigour of exertion, and animate the expectations of hope; to enable us to brave the ſtorms of eccleſiaſtical perſecution, and vanquiſh the reſiſtance of folly."

Taylor's Preface to the *Commentaries of Proclus*.

F I N I S.

BRITISH 2 JY 78 MUSEUM